





Said the good woman to me, 'I would not suffer what Elias has suffered for a little time past for all the world. She came home from market the other morning,' said she, 'pale and trembling, and another girl told her that she saw a slave-dealer that morning talking with the old man.' This was enough to alarm her. Learning his residence, I soon found him. He said he had offered her to herself for \$400—that a man in the city had promised to buy her for himself, and was to have paid him the first day of this month, and that he had his trunk all packed to start for the Springs, but he had not brought the money. 'And now,' said he, 'if I will pay me \$350, she shall be free.' I asked him to give me the refusal of her until the next morning. To this he consented. I then went to the Capitol over which wave the stars and stripes: I am not sure that I did not sing, as I went up the steps. 'Hail, Columbia!' I drew up a paper, starting it with a much larger sum than I could afford—but I had determined to advance the whole sum if necessary, and appeal to my friends at home. Before the House adjourned, I had \$345 promised. I borrowed the balance not paid in, and yesterday morning, I had the woman's free papers made out and executed. If my constituents see my name in the vote that day, let them know I was just then pleading with a slaveholder to give me five dollars to buy this woman—for I called on a large number of these patriots. Some laughed at me, and said 'she is better off.' Two of them offered to buy her themselves—one of them said he would give \$300 for her on my representation. Humphreys, Marshall, of Kentucky, James H. Seward, of Georgia, H. Winter Davis, of Maryland, and J. M. Harris, of the same State, each gave me five dollars, while many Northern men did nothing from conscientious scruples! This morning I went and read the *Free Papers* to the girl. We shall take her into our family as a domestic. This I think is the third or fourth one bought by members of Congress, since the session commenced.

I often exclaim, 'O, my Lord, what is to be the end of these things!' Some result must soon be reached. I have no doubt the leading Southern men are seriously contemplating a dissolution of the Union; it is announced in every speech as the certain result of the election of Fremont! Well, if it should be so, I still pray for his election.

M. TRAFON.

### PRESIDENT PIERCE, ON THE OUTRAGES IN KANSAS—INTERVIEW WITH THE KANSAS COMMITTEE.

To the National Kansas Committee:

The undersigned, in obedience to your instructions, waited on President Pierce on the 30th ult., and prayed his interposition against the threatened Slave Oligarchic invasion of Kansas. The following is a summary of results:—

#### VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT.

The opinions expressed by the Executive are substantially as follows:—

'While Government has been exhausting its constitutional powers (which are limited) to maintain order, Kansas Aid Societies have been actively stirring up rebellion. A factious spirit among the people of Kansas, respecting institutions which they need not have concerned themselves about, and which would have all come right in time, originated the troubles. From the nature, habits, and education of the border-men, it was natural to find them excited by such an agitation. At this crisis, the North, instead of sending in armed men, who went about boasting of their ability to protect themselves, should have sent in order-loving and law-abiding citizens; should have sent in peace-seeking men, who would have promoted concord by moral agencies—by Bibles, rather than by Sharp's rifles. Such a course would have strengthened the hands of the President, instead of trying them, as they did. The sufferings of the settlers are therefore of their own seeking, and the legitimate fruits of that gunpowder-bible preaching which they and their supporters at the North have advocated. Each side is doubtless to blame. Inflammatory appeals are circulated both South and North, and reports, false or exaggerated, put forth by both parties, stir up sectional animosity. If each party would only get rid of about a hundred of their designing and restless leaders, agitation would cease, and a speedy end be put to the disorders.'

'The interposition of the Executive is claimed by both sides, each party urging against the other, exactly the same charges. At his distance from the scene of strife, the President cannot determine between them. His action must be guided by official reports. Gen. Smith communicates a very different condition of things from the exaggerated statements which have gone abroad. No apprehension of an impending invasion need be apprehended. But, should it happen, the whole power of the Government will be exerted to repel it, come from whatever source it may. The army in Kansas is not there to prevent or correct outrages unless they amount to invasion or insurrection. The civil power alone is competent to this. Application should be made to the proper authorities, and no power to redress the wrongs of Mr. Strawn. He applied to the wrong quarter. He should have gone to the Courts. As to granting him an escort, Gen. Smith thought if Mr. Strawn was smart enough to find his way safely to him without one, he ought to be able to find his way back! The Courts are open to all classes of citizens, without distinction. No autocratic interference has ever reached the Executive of an individual who has sought a redress of wrongs at the hands of the civil power in Kansas, and failed to obtain it. If one such case had been presented, he would at once have removed the offending official. If the majority of the people in Kansas had wanted peace and quiet, they could have had it. The way to get it was for the settlers among themselves to frown down all agitation growing out of differences of opinion as to local institutions. The Executive had always felt solicitous about the Territory, and had exerted his constitutional powers to their full extent to preserve order. The affair at Lawrence had given him great anxiety, and he at that time telegraphed both to Col. Sumner and Gov. Shannon, besides sending a special messenger. (Here the President produced copies of his telegraphic dispatches, which, we believe, were made public at the time.) The outrages at Lawrence were not done by authority. The President admits that mistakes have been made, as is evident by his removal of Shannon. But an impartial man has now gone there, who will see justice done to both parties. If he should catch either party in acts of violence, they should be hung up on the spot. THE CIVIL POWER OF THE TERRITORY MUST BE MAINTAINED!'

#### OPINIONS OF THE PRESIDENT.

1. That Government has not the power to protect emigrants en route for the Territory, because of the jurisdiction of the States; consequently, outrages committed on the highways of the nation, can only be redressed by the Courts of the respective States, on whose soil such outrages were committed.

2. That Government has no power to prevent or redress outrages committed within the Territory, except through the civil authority, or by martial law.

3. That the military can only aid the civil power as a posse comitatus; consequently,

4. Government having provided a legal mode of redress for the settlers, and strengthened it by a posse at all times available, the fault is with the settlers who they have failed to get protection or redress; they have failed to get it either because they were not law-abiding citizens, or because they made application to the military, which was the wrong source from whence to seek it.

5. That the mere possession of arms by emigrants entering the Territory is not prima facie evidence of threatened invasion, and that the mere possession of arms by settlers within the Territory is no prima facie evidence of insurrection; that the bearing of arms is a CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVILEGE which distinguishes American citizens; and that even Government itself has no right, under such circumstances, to disarm them.

#### REPLY OF THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President, during the eighteen months or more that executive power has been exerted, as is alleged, to preserve peace in Kansas, and vainly the disorders of that Territory have grown only worse. At this moment they are more threatening than ever; a peaceful solution of its troubles seems still more uncertain than at any period of its former history. The President affirms that he has exhausted all his constitutional powers. And

yet order is not restored. Under such circumstances, may it not be worth while to inquire whether the germ of the evil is not to be found in the Territorial laws themselves?

PRESIDENT—This question I do not propose to discuss at the present time.

COMMITTEE—From whatever source, then, Sir, the difficulties in Kansas have originated, this one thing is patent to the country and to the world: that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government, disorders of the most frightful character have prevailed; disorders that would shame the worst despotism of the worst ages; disorders so wide-spread and so atrocious, so bloody and so infernal, so deeply damning and inhuman, that, to escape them, the wretched inhabitants would make a gain if transferred to the despotic Governments of Russia, of Austria, or of France. During the dark reign of blood and terror; during this fearful tempest of violence and anarchy, these poor unshielded victims of plotted vengeance have broken no law and committed no crime. For hating Slavery because they loved Liberty, all these things have come upon them.

'Such, Sir, are the nature and character of the events which have transpired in Kansas during the past eighteen months of the policy of the Government. As representatives of the National Kansas Committee, we are here to-day to ask whether any change in this policy of the Administration is to be expected?'

PRESIDENT—No, Sir! THERE WILL BE NONE!

'Such gentlemen of the National Kansas Committee, the substance of our interview with President Pierce. The duty of commenting on the facts here stated, we leave to you. Our mission is ended.

Respectfully, &amp;c.,

THADDEUS HYATT,  
W. F. ARNY,  
EDWARD DANIELS,  
Sub-Com. of Nat. Kansas Com.  
New York, Sept. 1, 1856.

#### THE TRUE STATE OF THE CASE.

Whoever has read the highly important letter in our last from our well-informed Correspondent in Kansas, dated Lawrence, Aug. 25, will not fail to observe that the one question on which the Free settlers of Kansas are about to be overwhelmed by their Pro-Slavery invaders, is that of the validity and force of the 'laws' imposed on Kansas by the epurious, fraudulent Legislature which sat at Shawnee Mission. Acting-Governor Woodson tells the deputation from Lawrence that they must obey the laws—that is, these infernal enactments of that convocation of scoundrels, who every man knows were elected by Missouri expressly to enslave Kansas—and that if they will promise to do this, he can and will set the invading army to the right about face in five hours; but, if they will not promise this submission, he will do nothing to protect them. If, then, blood shall flow in torrents, infant cities and rising villages be burnt, and children be left homeless and fatherless on the desolate prairie, the question of the validity and enforcement of those atrocious 'laws' will have caused all this horrible carnage and devastation. The issue made up in Kansas is precisely that so sharply defined at Washington. The Republicans have spent the session in earnest efforts to procure repeal of those villainous 'laws.' For this they struggled in every way and at every opportunity; it was for this that the Extra Session was rendered necessary; it was for this that failed at last when 101 Fillmore and Buchanan men, overbearing 96 Fremonters and George G. Dunn, passed the Army bill without the proviso against enforcing the laws of Kansas. The result has been no other question of the Session which was not subordinate and incidental to this.

Now we see that the Northern journals and speakers affiliated with the Border Ruffians pretend that their side in Congress offered and wished to repeal those 'laws'—but this is a black falsehood. They offered at last to pick out a few horrible provisions of those 'laws,' and repeal or declare them invalid, as at war with the Federal Constitution; but they never, never voted that the acts of the Shawnee Mission usurpers were invalid pro se, nor that said usurpers, elected by Missouri bow-knives and ball-bags, were a black falsehood. They offered to repeal a few provisions of those diabolical 'laws,' but only in such manner as to affirm the right of their authors to make laws for Kansas, and the obligation of the settlers to obey them. And not only this, but our friends also, would have been content with the same strongly implied, general validity of those 'laws,' if they had supported and passed any of the projects of the Pro-Slavery leaders designed to render them a little less odious than they justly are. All the concession offered us was at best no better than the course of the British Parliament in repudiating the Stamp Act, but preserving the same breath their right to bind the Colonies in all that whatsoever. Had we united in what they now call a 'repeal' of the most odious laws, we should have admitted that the Shawnee Mission assembly was a legal and rightful Legislature of Kansas, that Whiffled was the legally chosen and right Delegate, that the Territory of Kansas was a part of the United States, and that Slavery now legally exists throughout the Territory. Ought the Republican members of Congress to have assented to this?

On the 30th of March, 1855, the Border Ruffians of Missouri went over to Kansas, and by violence and the most audacious fraud, elected a bogus Legislature. That Legislature, having adjourned to Shawnee Mission, there to fix a house for themselves in Missouri, proceeded to adopt the laws of Missouri, including those whereby Slavery is recognized and upheld, and added more atrocious devices of their own, intended to perpetuate their rule in the Territory, facilitate fraudulent voting, and oppress the people in Kansas by every means within their power. When the latter attempted to resist this usurpation, Missouri sent over her hordes to besiege Lawrence last Winter, and coerce our people into submission. It was by Missourians and affiliated Southerners that Lawrence was sacked last Summer, and that the Free State men have been harassed, tormented and plundered ever since. And now it is a Missouri army of three to four thousand men, who are invading, blockading, starving out, and preparing to exterminate the Free settlers of Kansas; and the satellites of Pierce give out their ultimatum—'Submit to the Shawnee Mission usurpation—obey the laws which you know to have been imposed on you by conspiracy, violence and gigantic fraud—or die.' How can it be that Christian men, professing Democrats, look coldly on and see this great Iniquity move on to its final triumph!—*New York Tribune.*

#### From the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

#### HOW TO SAVE THE UNION.

The following method of saving the Union we copy from the Charleston (S. C.) Standard:—

'We believe the Union will be temporarily prolonged by the introduction of slavery into Kansas; but we believe it might be extended to an indefinitely distant period by measures we propose—the restoration of the slave trade.' With the certainty of turning the balance of political power, we would have no motive for dissolution; while stability of the Union would be secured by the predominance of slave power in the government, the counter-balance any inclination they might have to give us.'

An exchange paper, commenting upon this, says:—

'Is there a man in all the North, the East or the West, that would save the Union at so great a sacrifice, by bowing in the dust to one of the most degrading oligarchies that ever cursed the world, and yielding up every right which the Union was formed to protect? If there is, he alone is fit for the lash of the slave-driver. Though we love the Union, yet it is worth nothing unless it secures to us our rights as freemen; and we do not love it so much that we are willing to abandon every principle of justice, honor and right to preserve it. We would rather see the Union go into fifty pieces than to see the freedom-loving people of Kansas subject to a code of infamous enactments which would degrade a race of barbarians, and are now trying to be enforced upon us by Northern dough-faces and Southern tyrants.'

Thus spiritedly and justly taken out of our contemporaries. We adopt his language in regard to Kansas, and we extend the principle to the case of the slave. If it is better for the Union to go into fifty pieces, rather than the ruffianism in Kansas should be perpetuated, why should we not seek to dash it to atoms rather than that the thousand-fold greater oppression of our millions of slaves should be perpetuated!

## THE LIBERATOR.

### No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 12, 1856.

#### WHAT IS THE DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS?

Every Presidential campaign is a time of temptation and peril to those who are sincerely laboring for the abolition of slavery in our land; because there is always some difference in the candidates put in nomination, and in the position of the rival parties, touching the great question at issue; and it is scarcely possible to see such a struggle, without wishing success to one side, and hoping for the defeat of the other. Where the lines are broadly drawn—where a geographical conflict is going on, (made so by the Slave Power itself in its effort to extend its domains indefinitely)—as at the present time, the temptation to join the party which is struggling for the right, and to achieve a most desirable victory, becomes irresistible to many, whose abhorrence of slavery cannot be doubted, but whose moral philosophy is to some extent defective, or who are unable to take broad and comprehensive views of the whole subject, or who are impelled by their feelings rather than by a clear perception of duty.

Against Buchanan and Fillmore, it seems to us, the sympathies and best wishes of every enlightened friend of freedom must be on the side of Fremont; so that if there were no moral barrier to our voting, and we had a million votes to bestow, we should cast them all for the Republican candidate. We hail the result of the recent elections in Iowa, Vermont and Maine as cheering proofs of a growing change in public sentiment at the North, favorable to the cause of freedom generally; and so they will be regarded by the slave oligarchy, to a man. Justly open to censure as the Republican party is, on other grounds, it is deserving of commendation for endeavoring to baffle the designs of the Slave Power in regard to our vast territorial possessions at the West. One step in the right direction is better than inaction; how much better than twenty steps (as taken by the Democratic party) in the opposite direction!

Nevertheless, it seems as clear to us now, as it did ten years ago, that the best service that can be rendered to the millions who are in bondage at the South—to the territories which are yet to be inhabited—to the cause of freedom every where; say, that the highest duty that can be performed with reference to the present and the future,—is to refuse to continue in alliance with the slaveholding South, and to trample in the dust the iniquitous compact made by our fathers. Indeed, we see no other alternative left to us. Putting obedience to 'the higher law' aside for the moment, what sense is there in seeking to unite elements eternally antagonistic? If the North is for freedom, and the South for slavery, how useless is every attempt to conciliate them! If both parties are incorable, how can they be welded together? Of what value is a parchment union where there is nothing in common—where, in the nature of things, there must be unending jealousies, heart-burnings and rivalries—where the interests of one section are wholly adverse to the interests of the other? Let the history of the past half century answer this question! What semblance of liberty exists in all the South? Where are such tyrants to be found as those who control her institutions and shape her destiny? What can propitiate them but the most abject subversion to their imperial will? Do they not live upon unrequited toil—by their horrible traffic in human flesh—the plunderers of the weak, and the robbers of the poor, base and cruel beyond all parallel? Do they not hate and despise the free institutions of the North—especially free labor and free schools? Does not any reflection upon their slaveholding practices transform them into border ruffians, cut-throats, assassins, demons incarnate? Do they not openly spit upon the Declaration of Independence, and utter more atrocious sentiments respecting liberty and equality than ever fell from the lips of the Tories of the old world? Are they governed by any rule, principle, agreement, law or ordinance, of God or man, but their own profane desire? What is their career from the cradle to the grave but one of unbridled lust, of filthy anarchy, of swaggering bragadoos, of haughty domination, of cowardly ruffianism, of boundless dissipation, of matchless insolence, of infinite self-conceit, of unequalled oppression, of more than savage cruelty? To know what they are capable of doing to their slave population, read their infernal Slave Code! What they are ready to perpetrate upon the white men of the North who will not acknowledge them to be masters, let the horrid scenes in Kansas—let the horrors heaped upon the ruffian Brooks—proclaim in thunder-tones! Now, is it not madness to talk of perpetuating a union with such monsters, whose arguments are the bow-knife and revolver, and whose weapons, the lash, the bludgeon, the halter, and the stake? This experiment, equally futile and wicked, has been tried too long already; it ought never to have been made, and, assuredly, to persist in carrying it on is nothing short of blood-red iniquity. It is no atonement, no extension, no answer to say, 'We mean to prevent the further extension of slavery.'

As if an unwillingness to admit another slave State into the Union could in any degree justify the North in consenting to guard and protect fifteen slave States in brutally enslaving four millions of their population! As if those who make a covenant with death, and enter into an agreement with hell, however carefully defined or restricted in terms, will be able, when judgment is laid to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, to stop the 'overflowing scourge'! As if zeal and self-sacrifice in defence of the rights of the free whites settlers in Kansas, (to whatever extent and however praiseworthy), can erase or whiten into innocence the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution!

We offer, therefore, two unanswerable reasons for a separation of the North from the South, if she means to be true to the cause of freedom—the first is, the exceeding sinfulness of her present relations to the South, which are organic and not incidental; and the second is, the insanity of thinking to make liberty and slavery—i. e. fire and gunpowder—pull together in the same harness! Away with this iniquity! At once and forever abandon such fatuity! There must be no doubting with untempered moral—a no postponement of duty—to no diversion to any side issue—no Wilnot proviso thrown out as a tub to the Northern whale—no attempt to put a cap upon Vesuvius—no incoherent plea of making 'freedom national, slavery sectional'—no going back to the principles or policy of 'the Fathers.' Crime must not be persisted in—sin must be abandoned, now, without regard to consequences—or, rather, with all possible regard to consequences, since no evil can arise from obedience to God, who alone sets the end from the beginning.

Better, then, than voting even for Fremont is the rallying-cry of 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS'—is the withdrawal from the compact—is refusal to use the elective franchise—is Northern secession from Southern partnership—is uncompromising opposition to slavery as a principle or system wherever it exists—is peaceful revolution. Let all true abolitionists believe this, and act upon it. Let them not be induced to 'go down into Egypt for chariots and horsemen,' nor pursue once more to 'bow down in the house of Remmon.' Let them beware of the Jesuitical doctrine, that 'the end sanctifies the means.' If we cannot vote, under present circumstances, without compromising our principles, then not Kansas, not all the world, may ask us to give a vote. If we can do nothing else, except to 'stand still, and see the salvation of God,' it is enough—remembering that

'He truly serves who only stands and waits.'

But this is neither standing nor waiting: it is to be vital, energetic, irresistible: it is to lay the axe at the root of the tree. O that the Republican party, with its extended hosts from Maine to Kansas—its activity, its

devotion, its eloquence—will more, O that the entire people of the North, with their infinite strength and boundless resources, would concentrate all their means and influences upon the one great work of Northern dismemberment, and thus strike a fatal blow at the heart of the monster slavery, by the withdrawal of that aid by which the South is enabled to maintain her bloody sway! 'To this complexion it must come at last,' or all is lost.

These remarks may properly precede a brief notice of the oration delivered on the last fourth of July, at Jamestown, N. Y., by our earliest friends and coadjutors, SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, in whose purity of motive and benevolence of heart, and religious fidelity to his convictions of duty, we place unlimited confidence, and for whom we cherish such love and regard as language is too poor to express. We have already spoken in commendatory terms of a very large portion of this oration—stating our surprise that it should coincide with expressing 'the belief that, in the good providence of God, by similar influences, this man (John C. Fremont) has been raised up to be what Washington was, the man needed by our country in the hour of its utmost peril,' and saying to the people of the North, 'If you will have free soil, a free press, free speech, and be yourselves free men—then go to the polls and vote for Fremont.' It is true, Mr. May is not for stopping here; he adds—'This is but the beginning of the great work of reform, of national regeneration, that we have to do.' In his mind, it may be 'but the beginning'; but, surely, if we may believe Mr. Fremont, the Republican party itself, and the organs of that party, it is to be THE END OF ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION, with nothing further to do, with no repentance to perform! Let Kansas be saved, and slavery may go unchallenged in every existing slave State! True, this is better than not to have Kansas saved, but it is treachery to those already in bondage; and how can this be winked at for a moment? Mr. May says of the new party—

'It has not, indeed, promised in advance that it will do all that I know must be done to make our salvation sure; but it has not foreclosed its future action, in any particular, or to any extent, that may be found necessary to make the triumph of Liberty complete.'

Upon this remark—let it, it is not safe to assume that the party will do in the sequel than it promises to do in advance—2d, no political party ever yet went beyond its promises of reform—3d, the Republican party has certainly foreclosed its future action upon slavery in general, as our national sin, by confining it expressly and exclusively to slavery in the territories; and, therefore, to suppose it will transcend this is not admissible.

Again, Mr. May says:—

'I rejoice that the Republican party, which now takes the lead in the political conflict for freedom, has inscribed upon its banner not a word of concession to the oppressors of our land. Oppressors have no right to be what they are. They have no rights, except such as are common to all men. They have no right to hold a single fellow-being in bondage a moment.'

Will Mr. Fremont say this, before or after the election? Will the Republican party? On the contrary, do they not make every concession to the oppressors of our land? Has every concession been acknowledged in the U. S. Constitution? Do they not mean to allow a slave representation in Congress, or a fugitive slave to be hunted, in the spirit of the national compact? If not, why not say so? If they do, then how deep is their criminality, in spite of all they may accomplish for Kansas!

Mr. May says of Mr. Fremont—'He has an individuality like Gen. Taylor and Gen. Jackson.' Not like those military despots, we trust, who were any thing but blessings to their country, and whose 'individuality' was simply the defiant and lawless action of warriors and slaveholders.

'If we fall in this first step,' he says, 'we may well despair of our republic, and expect nothing better than the utter dissolution of the Union; and that, too, by means of the most horrible of all expedients, a civil war.' Now, we can conceive of 'nothing better' than the utter dissolution of the Union, to the cause of liberty in America, and throughout the world. To whom has this Union been a blessing? Surely, not to the millions of imbruted slaves who have been lashed to their graves since its formation. Not to the living millions who are clanking their chains in hopeless servitude. Not to the slaveholders, in allowing them to plunder Africa of her children, and devastate her coasts, for a period of twenty years; and in giving them extraordinary privileges in and under the government, without limitation of time. Not to the people of the North; for it has proved to them, by reason of their idolatrous attachment to it, a snare and a curse, causing them to sacrifice conscience, manhood, their Christian faith, their reverence for justice, for a mass of potage, and staining all their garments with blood. Not to Republicanism as a theory of government; for it has brought it into contempt, and made it a proverb, in every part of the globe. Its immediate and utter overthrow, then, is not to be deplored or feared, but earnestly desired and unflinchingly sought. This Mr. May virtually admits in the following truthful and impressive passage:—

'We have been taught by bitter experience, that no compromise can be safely, any more than truthfully, made with this system of monstrous wrong. It is absurd not less than iniquitous, the attempt to bind in friendly union the angel Liberty, and Slavery, the blackest fend of hell. There can be no more concord between them than between Christ and Belial—the light of noonday and the darkness of midnight. The one will enwrap up and drive out the other. The only question before us, which shall prevail, Liberty or Slavery? We see in the history of our Republic, that slavery still alive, can not restrict itself within any boundaries.'

Now, this seems to us the conclusion of the whole matter. It embodies reason, argument, fact, history, philosophy, cause and effect, in the mere statement. Flow, then, can our honored friend give his support to a party, which, equally with the Democratic and American parties,—so far as our national compact is concerned,—is actually and iniquitously attempting to bind in friendly union the angel Liberty, and Slavery, the blackest fend of hell, and proclaim its fealty to such a union to be more true and righteous than that of either of its rivals? He says that 'the slaveholders know full well that Slavery and Liberty cannot exist harmoniously under the same government.' What a pity it is that John C. Fremont, the Republican party, the people of the North without regard to party or sect, do not know as much! Is it for such a tried abolitionist as SAMUEL J. MAY to countenance them in the delusion under which they are laboring? They contemplate nothing beyond the restoration of the Missouri compromise, when they will 'let peace, peace,' though there be, and can be, no peace; for, as Mr. May truly affirms, 'The slaveholders are obviously determined that no freedom shall be allowed in our republic that will abridge their freedom to say and do whatever they please.' How, then, is union possible with such unscrupulous tyrants?

The first duty of the people of the North, therefore, is not to 'go to the polls and vote for Fremont,'—desirable as his election may be over Buchanan and Fillmore, the unprincipled tools of the slave oligarchy,—but to summon a Convention of the free States, and declare the original compact to be at an end—first, because of its inherent iniquity; secondly, because of the continual perfidy of the South towards the North; and thirdly, because the dissolution of the Union is sure to end in the speedy abolition of slavery—in which event a free republic will extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and peace and good will every where abound.

The last number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* contains a long letter from Mr. May, in explanation and vindication of his advocacy of Mr. Fremont's election. If we had room for it this week, we would give it a place in our columns. It presents the following points:—

Mr. May thinks the difference between the Democratic

abolitionists and himself, is owing to a disagreement in respect to the true character of the U. S. Constitution. More than twenty years ago, he wrote an elaborate article in 'The Anti-Slavery Magazine,' endeavoring to show that there is nothing in the language of that instrument 'that binds our government or its constituents to the service of slaveholders.' He is still inclined to interpret it on the side of freedom, as Gerrit Smith does, and, therefore, does not feel himself to be morally precluded from the use of the ballot. He enumerates certain things that Congress can do—as follows:—

'Congress can abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Executive can then cleanse our National Capital of that most offensive of all nuisances. Congress can forbid the introduction of slavery into any of the Territories, and deny admission into the Union to any new State, but upon the condition that there shall be no slavery in it. Congress can forbid utterly the interstate slave trade, and it will then be the duty of the Executive to enforce the prohibition on land and at sea. Moreover, Congress has power, and in virtue of the first clause of the 3d Section of the IV Article of the Constitution is bound to make all necessary provisions, and call upon the Executive to use all the means at its command, to secure to the citizens of the free States, whatever may be their complexions, unmolested ingress into and egress out of the slave States, with the full enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of those States.'

We reply—First, Congress can unquestionably do all the things specified; but what has this to do with the Republican party, which does not propose to do but one of them? Secondly, it is not to the point what may be the anti-slavery construction placed upon the Constitution by Mr. May, but the real question is, does Mr. Fremont or his party accept such a construction, and intend to act upon it? Certainly not. Then to vote for Mr. Fremont is to repudiate such a construction in fact; and on the legal maxim, that what we do by another, we do ourselves. Gerrit Smith very properly and consistently declines voting for any man who does not assent to his interpretation of the Constitution. It seems to us our friend May should imitate his example.

Mr. May, at the conclusion of his letter, says:—

'There are no persons living, whose approval of my sentiments and actions I desire more than Mr. Garrison's and yours. But I must nevertheless follow my own convictions; and also give due heed to my instincts and intuitions. These all are impelling me to labor for the election of Messrs. Fremont and Dayton. If, however, you, or any one, can show me, before the day of voting, that I shall do any moral wrong in giving my vote for those gentlemen, it will not be too late, at that moment, to withhold it. And if the effect of the election shall not be what I predict it will be, I shall then as frankly confess that I was mistaken, as I now avow my conviction that it will promote the redemption of the enslaved, to vote with the Republican party.'

We are sure our beloved friend will be true to his convictions of duty, and he knows us too well to believe that we would have him violate them on any account. We can only ask him to review the case, and particularly to remember that he will not merely vote to make Kansas a free State, but also to sustain all the provisions of the U. S. Constitution; that though he finds nothing therein of a pro-slavery character, Mr. Fremont does, and is willing to execute it; and, finally, that, as a non-resistor, he will have to reconcile his views of peace in voting for a military man, and also in giving Congress power 'to declare war, to provide for the army and navy, to grant letters of marque and reprisal,' &c. We do not see how this can be done.

#### A CHARITABLE APPEAL.

The tidings which are daily coming to us from Kansas are of the most heart-rending character. Such a state of things is nowhere else to be found on the earth at the present time. Border Ruffianism, by the connivance of a perjured President and the U. S. army, is redoubling the soil of Kansas with innocent blood, and committing the most frightful outrages upon the persons and property of the Free State settlers. All goods are at an end, and the demons of the pit are let loose. The Slave Power has effected a bloody coup-d'etat over that ill-fated Territory, and means to enforce it to 'the bitter end.' Is the North going to wait till 'the ideas of March,' before meeting the issue? And what of triumphant villainy will have been left undone, by that time, by the Border Ruffians?

To the following Charitable Appeal, we are confident, there will be a prompt and generous response.—How urgent and touching is a case like this!

#### CLOTHING FOR KANSAS!

At a meeting of individuals interested in the sufferings of the inhabitants of Kansas, the following were appointed a Committee to solicit aid. Many persons there are now in want of Clothing, and have scarcely any means of procuring it. The undersigned would earnestly ask for substantial Clothing, such as coats, shoes, caps, blankets, &c., proper for the ensuing winter. Donations of money will be applied strictly for the purchase and preparation of Clothing. The Sewing Circles of the various religious societies are invited to assist. Wholesale dealers in boots, shoes, caps, do, &c., are reminded that they may relieve much distress by promptly responding to this appeal. We wish to send 1000 suits of Clothing into Kansas before the end of the present month. Suitable measures have been taken for their safe transmission. Articles may be left at the residence of either of the Committee, or with J. L. EMMONS, 32 South Market st., F. W. LINCOLN, 136 Commercial st., A. L. HASKELL, 23 Union st., JOHN P. JEWETT & Co., 117 Washington st., Rev. S. H. INKLEY, 7 Bulfinch st., and at the Rooms of the Foreign and Anti-Slavery Society, Winter st.

J. FREEMAN CLARKE Jamaica Plain,  
JAMES TOLMAN, 13 Congress st.,  
S. H. AUSTIN, 32 West Canton st.,  
HENRY L. BOWDITCH, 8 Otis Place,  
Mrs. A. A. GALL, 29 Fayette st.,  
H. H. PRENTISS, 15 Dorchester st.,  
SAMUEL CABOT, 17 Winter st.,  
J. NORTON, 73 Shawmut Avenue.

DISAPPOINTMENT. We regret that the Rev. Mr. Rogers, the talented and highly respectable colored clergyman of Newark, N. J., was not able to deliver his witty and telling Poem on the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as advertised in our last number, at the Melancon, on Monday evening, but few persons being in attendance—partly on account of the unfavorable state of the weather. He deserved a full house. On Tuesday evening, however, he gave his Poem in Rev. Mr. Grimes's church, to a good audience who were greatly pleased with it. Last evening, Mr. R. rehearsed it in the Rev. Mr. Hutchins's church, in Charlestown; and on Sunday evening next, he will deliver it in Worcester. Wherever he goes, may be find ample encouragement.

NEW EDITION. Just published by T. B. Peterson, 102 Chesnut street, Philadelphia, a new edition of the popular work, entitled 'RETIBUTION: A Tale of Passion, by Emma D. E. N. Southworth, Author of 'The Lost Heiress,' 'Deserted Bride,' 'Wife's Victory,' 'Missing Bride,' 'India,' 'Curse of Clifton,' &c. &c. The highest commendations have been bestowed upon this work, by the press, on account of its thrilling narration and dramatic action. Mrs. Southworth has met with remarkable success in all her literary efforts.

CAUTION TO CAPTAINS OF VESSELS.—The schooner Amphi C. Hall, Dennis, master, is now detained at Norfolk in custody, for the reason that while in Hampton Roads her captain informed the pilots, who wished to search her under the inspection law, that he was not going North, but was bound for Richmond. He thus saved the inspection fee; but was afterwards 'taken in the act' of endeavoring to get North, and brought up by pilots. The vessel is liable to a heavy penalty if the alleged evasion can be established.

Tremont Temple has been engaged for the reception of Mr. Burlingame to-day, and arrangements also made for a gathering in the street, to be addressed from the Temple. After the adjournment of the meeting, a procession of the various clubs, with music, banners and fireworks, will march through the principal streets to the Revue House, where rooms have been engaged for Mr. Burlingame. Hon. Henry Wilson, Hon. N. P. Banks, Hon. C. A. Phelps, Hon. E. C. Baker, and others, have been invited to be present.

## SEPTEMBER 12.

### FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

The Michigan Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at Battle Creek, on the 1st Saturday and Sunday, the 4th and 5th, of the month. In issuing the following Call, we wish to be understood, that the invitation is not to any one party, as such, but to all believers in the equal rights of man, cordially invite all, especially those who faith that the 'divine effort never slackens,' and who unite themselves to the cause of human progress, to be present. We believe that progress in virtue and moral excellence, and the acquisition of knowledge through the intellect and the elevation of civilization through the cultivation of the human mind, and hence are earnest and laborious in the direction of a more universal and harmonious development of the race. We see the time is coming when that nature which is not to be subdued, and which is divine, which, when left to its own arbitrary action, would be a curse to



SIXTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

In this epoch of political and social excitement, the advocates of the Equal Rights of the human race are anxious to produce and publish their constant demand for a consistent application of the democratic principles for the emancipation not alone of one class, or one nation, but of one half of the human race.

We accordingly invite  
All who believe that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed :—  
All who believe that taxation and representation should go together :—  
All who believe in the right of all to a trial by a jury of their peers :—  
All who believe in a fair day's wages for a fair day's work :—  
All who believe in the equal right of all children in the community to its public provisions for education :—  
To meet in Convention at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, on the 9th, 10th, and 10th of October next, to consider whether their rights and principles shall be confined to the community limited to one half the members of the community.

PAULINA WELCH DAVIS, President.  
LUCY SPENCE, Sec'y.  
[?] Editors, please copy.

TO LYCEUM COMMITTEES.

WM. SYMONDS BROWN, M. D., author of 'Chemistry for Beginners,' &c., respectfully intimates, that he is ready to deliver, at engagements with Lyceum Committees, and others, for the delivery of his new Lecture,—

THE POETRY AND MAGIC OF SCIENCE.

Which will be illustrated with many beautiful and startling Experiments; or for the delivery of shorter Courses of Popular Lectures on Physiology or Chemistry.

Terms may be ascertained, by addressing Prof. W. S. BROWN, New England Female Medical College, 72 Washington street, Boston.

[?] WM. WELLS BROWN will speak on American Slavery, at the Town Hall in Abington, on Sunday, Sept. 14, morning and afternoon, at the usual hours of religious worship.

[?] Rev. DAVID A. WASSON will lecture on Slavery in PROVIDENCE, R. I., on Sunday, 14th inst.

[?] STEPHEN S. POSTER AND JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society will hold meetings at EAST PRINCETON, Sunday, Sept. 14, at 10 A. M., and 14 and 5 o'clock, P. M.

Also, at MARLBORO', on Sunday, Sept. 21, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and 14 and 5 o'clock, P. M.

[?] CONVENTION AT NEW BEDFORD.—An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at New Bedford on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 21 and 22, commencing Saturday evening, and continuing through the following day and evening. CHARLES LENOX REMOND and WM. WELLS BROWN will be present, and take part in the proceedings. Let there be a general turnout.

[?] NOTICE.—Lyceum and other invitations for Dr. J. S. Rock should be directed to his corner of Cambridge and Bridge streets, Boston, Mass.

DIED.—In Worcester, August 21, LYDIA B. CAPRON wife of Effingham L. Capron, aged 61.

At East Lexington, 7th inst., ELI ROBINSON, Esq., aged 69 years, 10 mos.

---

## Forty years in Slavery!

---

JUST PUBLISHED:  
**THE KIDNAPPED,**  
—AND—  
**THE RANSOMED:**  
*Being the Personal Recollections of Peter Still and his Wife Vina, after forty years of Slavery.*

BY MRS. KATE E. R. PICKARD.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY REV. S. J. MAY.

—AND A—  
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SETH CONCKLIN,  
—BY WM. H. FURNESS, D.D.

PETER STILL was kidnapped in early childhood from the door-step of his home in New Jersey for more than forty years he was a slave in Kentucky and Alabama; at last, he purchased his freedom by the slow accumulation of extra labor, and, returning to the region of his birth, found his yet surviving mother and his numerous brothers and sisters, living in and near Philadelphia. His wife and three children, under the pilotage of Seth Concklin, attempted to escape, but were recaptured at Vincennes, Indiana. Peter immediately set about collecting the money for their purchase. The sum demanded for them was exorbitant—\$5000—and would have discouraged almost any other man than Peter Still. Yet the strong social feeling and the energy of his race were strikingly manifested in his untiring perseverance, which was crowned with success, and Peter and his unsuspecting pleasure-bringing his household to a free home, where they can quietly enjoy their own fireside, free from the master's frown and the driver's lash.

The writer of this narrative was a highly esteemed teacher in the Female Seminary at Tusculum, Alabama, who had every opportunity to acquire a personal knowledge of all the prominent facts and circumstances which she has narrated. We can promise the lovers of exciting adventure very much in this volume to gratify their taste: and all those who really desire to fathom the heights and depths of that Iniquity which threatening the destruction of our Republic, may turn to it in the assurance that they will find in it much valuable information, given with the strictest regard for truth.

---

### CONTENTS.—CHAPTER HEADS.

The Kidnapper; Early Experience in Slavery; Peter Nattie; The Tobacco Factory; The Separation; Master Nattie's Death; The Journey to Alabama; First Four Years at the South; Levin's Marriage; Vina's Early History; Vina's First Year at McKiernan's; The Marriage; The New Cabin; The Young Mother; Death of a Kind Master; Levin's Death; A Slave Mother Gird-by; The Mistress' Second Marriage; The Plantation broken up; Baby-Life in the Cabins; Facts; Peter's Year at McKiernan's; Burlington's Reign; First Four Years in Tusculum; Peter Hires His Time; Peter Buys Himself; Journey to Philadelphia; The Kidnapped Boy Restored to his Mother; Peter's Farewell Visit to Alabama; The Escape; The Capture; The Plans to Redeem his Family; 'How did he get it done?'; A desperate very much in this volume to gratify their taste: and all those who really desire to fathom the heights and depths of that Iniquity which threatening the destruction of our Republic, may turn to it in the assurance that they will find in it much valuable information, given with the strictest regard for truth.

One Volume, 4 Illustrations, 408 pp., 12 mo. \$1.25  
Discount to the trade—30 per cent.; 25 copies in 10 order, 33 1/2 per cent.; 100 copies, 40 per cent.

Address the Publishers,  
MILLER, ORTON & MULLIGAN,  
25 Park Row, New York, or 107 Genesee St., Auburn.

WILLIAM T. HAMILTON, Syracuse.  
September 14.

---

## MRS. STOWE'S NEW NOVEL.

On the fifteenth of September, we shall publish.

# DRED;

## A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp.

BY HARRIET BEESCHER STOWE,  
Author of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' &c., etc.

In Two Volumes, 12 mo. Price, \$1.75.

NO apology is necessary for the announcement of another

### ANTI-SLAVERY NOVEL.

from the author whose former book made so profound an impression in this country, and whose fame is no co-extensive with civilization.

The present work is pronounced, by those who have read it, superior to 'Uncle Tom' in breadth of conception, in development of character and principle, and in the overwhelming power and interest of its story.

The contest between the institutions of Freedom and of Despotism is approaching a crisis; no man or woman can be indifferent as to the issue; and a work like this, which sets the legitimate fruits of American Slavery under the laws, cannot but excite great universal interest.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & Co.,  
13 WATER STREET, BOSTON.



